

*Charles E. Flandrau and the Defense of New Ulm.* Edited by RUSSELL W. FRIDLEY, LEOTA M. KELLETT, and JUNE D. HOLMQUIST. (New Ulm, The Brown County Historical Society, 1962. 62 p. Illustrations, maps \$3.75.)

Reviewed by Kenneth Carley

THE DESPERATE, touch-and-go defense of Fort Ridgely and New Ulm against major Indian attacks on August 22 and 23, 1862, checked the momentum of the Sioux Uprising in and near the Minnesota River Valley. The frontier settlement of New Ulm in particular had seemed an inviting target, but the 650 warriors who swooped down on the town reckoned without the stubbornness of its German citizens and their neighbors from near-by areas. Nor could the Indians foresee that these peaceful people, possessing few firearms, would be galvanized into an effective defense force by a commander without previous military experience. He was Charles E. Flandrau of Traverse des Sioux, the Minnesota Valley's leading citizen. Flandrau guided maneuvers that repulsed the Indians' determined offensive and thereby became known as the "savior" of New Ulm.

Some thirty years after the battle, Flandrau set down in pencil a narrative that now has been published for the first time by the Brown County Historical Society with the permission of the manuscript's present owner, Mr. August Hummel of New Ulm. Although it must be admitted that this version of the battle is in the main disappointing, and in a number of ways suffers by comparison with the better-known Flandrau account in *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars*, it nevertheless is worth while. It adds a number of details to the known story of the so-called second battle of New Ulm and is especially valuable for communicating Flandrau's anxiety over the outcome. The account gains considerably from intelligent footnotes supplied by Mrs. Leota M. Kellett, director of the Brown County His-

torical Society, and Mrs. June D. Holmquist, associate editor of the Minnesota Historical Society.

Fortunately, this attractive little book is not limited to the Flandrau account itself. Especially noteworthy is its lengthy, well-written introduction by Russell W. Fridley, director of the Minnesota Historical Society. With enthusiasm and a sure hand, Mr. Fridley sketches Flandrau's illustrious career as a lawyer, Minnesota Supreme Court judge, Indian agent, frontier soldier, member of Minnesota's constitutional convention, author, and man of many other parts. He also catches some of Flandrau's keen humor and bonhomie.

Mr. Fridley shows that Flandrau deserves to be better known in the over-all Minnesota story. He also makes a good case to support his statement that Flandrau "emerged as the ablest battlefield commander on either side of the Sioux Uprising," although admirers of Henry H. Sibley may want to take issue with this judgment.

The book contains other documents: Flandrau's orders for the evacuation of New Ulm, Rudolph Leonhart's fine heretofore untranslated description of the exodus to Mankato, and Jacob Nix's account of the citizens' return to their ruined city. There also is a short conclusion, entitled "Aftermath," by Mrs. Kellett and Mrs. Holmquist.

Neatly designed by Alan Ominsky of Minneapolis, the volume has two good maps of New Ulm's area of defense in 1862 and numerous illustrations, including an excellent four-color reproduction of Anton Gág's famous "barrel-head" painting of the first battle of New Ulm.

This fine book, it seems to me, points up the wisdom of doing something of long-lasting value during centennial observances rather than concentrating solely on the short-lived hoopla of re-enactments and the like.

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MR. CARLEY is the author of a pictorial history of The Sioux Uprising of 1862, published recently by the Minnesota Historical Society.

## QUETICO PICTOGRAPHS

*Indian Rock Paintings of the Great Lakes.* By SELWYN DEWDNEY and KENNETH E. KIDD. (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1962. viii, 127 p. Illustrations, maps. \$4.75.)

Reviewed by Elden Johnson

THIS HANDSOME volume documents over a hundred Indian pictographic sites in the Quetico-Superior wilderness area of Ontario and Minnesota. The fourth in a series of publications on that area sponsored by the Quetico Foundation, this book is a result of the collaboration of Selwyn Dewdney, author and artist, and Kenneth E. Kidd, an anthropologist associated with the Royal Ontario Museum.

Pictographs in the Quetico are paintings usually done by applying ground hematite or red ochre against one of the vertical rock exposures found along the myriad waterways. Abstract symbols are the most common motif, but man-made objects, the human hand in outline, the human male figure, animals and birds, and animal-like figures presumed to be mythological creatures are also found. The pictographs occur in clusters, and several motifs are usually combined at one site. Near Sioux Narrows on Lake of the Woods, what is probably a European fort is depicted, and at another site, a man aiming a rifle is seen. Except for these obviously post-European pictographs, the sites are difficult to date. Efforts to date them by means of the rate of pigment weathering or the rate of lichen growth have proven inconclusive.

Mr. Dewdney's documentation of his search for the sites during the summers of 1957-1959 occupies the major portion of the text. It is presented in journal form, and the reader experiences with the author some of the thrill of discovery. Excellent photographs—in both black and white and color—halftone reproductions of Mr. Dewdney's field tracings, and hatched-line drawings of many of the pictograph motifs, groups, and sites enhance this section. Mr. Kidd concludes the volume with

a fine chapter discussing the anthropological background of the pictographs, the problems involved in interpreting ethnographic source material, and the importance of these records for future research. A comprehensive bibliography, a site list, and a useful index complete the volume.

Mr. Dewdney must receive praise for his skill and care in recording the pictographs in what was surely a labor of love for him. Both authors should also be complimented for the judicious way in which they handle the question, "What do they mean?" By avoiding sheer speculation and by pointing out the many problems involved, they have produced a scholarly volume. The book will be of interest to many readers, both as an anthropological record and as a valuable work on one aspect of the natural history of the Quetico-Superior area.

## MINNESOTA MINORITY

*The Negro in Minnesota.* By EARL SPANGLER. (Minneapolis, T. S. Denison and Company, Inc., 1961. 215 p. \$3.95.)

Reviewed by Leslie H. Fishel, Jr.

THE "Minnesota Historical Society Committee for the Study of the Role of the Negro in Minnesota History" is a tongue twister in anyone's living room. But the name is self-explanatory. Organized in 1957, the committee enlisted the financial aid of the Minnesota Statehood Centennial Commission and the historical skill of Earl Spangler of Macalester College. This book was the result.

Few people appreciate the fact that whites and Negroes went to the Midwest together. They trapped, farmed, and traded together; they built houses and churches together; their children went to school together. What is more important than this early nineteenth-century togetherness is the fact that the Negro had a hand in developing Minnesota. Some Negroes were slaves; more were freemen who set their feet in Minnesota soil and contributed more than their cubit to its history.

Interracial good will had too short a history in Minnesota, as in other states, because the antislavery controversy stretched its far-reaching tentacles across the upper Mississippi River. Mr. Spangler believes that the "all man-

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MR. JOHNSON is associate professor of anthropology in the University of Minnesota and state archaeologist.

kind are created Free and Equal" resolutions adopted in 1859 by the Hennepin County Anti-Slavery Society represented majority opinion, although he demonstrates that there was contrary feeling. In the same year the *Mankato Weekly Record* approvingly quoted visitors who thought Blue Earth County was "peculiarly blessed" by the absence of Negroes. Southern summer tourists, some with slaves, brought dollars to a small but thriving tourist industry and reinforced the latent hostility to the free Negro. This is an early instance of a modern embarrassment.

The author pushes his narrative along chronologically, fitting into this framework the suffrage struggle, the recurring problems of civil rights, the ever-present shadow of economic discrimination, and the evolution of Negro organizations. He supplements the story in each time period with brief biographical sketches of Negro Minnesotans.

It is not easy to write a book like this. The evidence for the nineteenth century is sparse and too often that of a white person looking at the Negro group. While the sources in the twentieth century begin to multiply, it is no simple task to sift grain from chaff at such close range. Mr. Spangler has met these problems manfully, if not altogether successfully. One senses that he spent so many desperate hours searching for evidence in the earlier period that he despaired of tying the few shreds together into narrative form. In the present century, he was so embarrassed by the riches that he felt pressured into leaving nothing out.

At many places in the nineteenth century, Mr. Spangler paused tantalizingly before rushing to the next scrap of evidence. If he had only said a little more about the segregated St. Paul school which ran for a decade until about 1868, the shadows of white attitudes and Negro education would have gained greater substance. If he had only spent a little more time on the suffrage question, even though the story appears elsewhere, the watershed which the achievement of this basic civil right marks would have been clearly delineated.

Mr. Spangler perceptively observes that in the twentieth century the Negro became an urban resident and an organization man. In this period the book focuses almost exclusively on the Twin Cities, with a side trip to Duluth to detail the state's only Negro lynching. The growth of local Urban Leagues and chapters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the importance of the Twin Cities' two colored settlement houses suggest the Negro's reliance on organizations. Here again the book pauses tantalizingly only to rush on to another subject. This inadvertently creates the impression that the urban Negro is little more than a statistic and his organizations little more than a series of annual reports. If Mr. Spangler had only given his considerable reportorial and interpretive powers freer rein, the impact of urbanism and organized effort would have been more sharply etched.

*The Negro in Minnesota* is the first attempt in more than a generation to bring the story of the Negro in a northern state down to yesterday. It documents a race's pitfalls and progress in an important state and, as such, is a concrete contribution to state, local, and national history.

#### FACTUAL FICTION

*Spirit Lake*. By MACKINLAY KANTOR. (Cleveland and New York, the World Publishing Company, 1961. 957 p. Map. \$6.95.)

#### Reviewed by Theresa Haynes

IN EARLY March, 1857, a small band of renegade Wahpekute Sioux, led by an outlawed warrior named Inpaduta, wiped out an isolated white settlement near Spirit Lake in northwestern Iowa. Slaying all but four women whom they carried off as captives, the Indians went north across the Minnesota-Iowa border and descended upon the village of Springfield (later named Jackson). There the settlers had been warned, and many had left. The marauders killed those who remained, bringing the total number of their victims to more than forty, then fled to their customary

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MR. FISHEL is director of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin at Madison.

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MRS. HAYNES is editorial assistant on the staff of the Minnesota Historical Society.

hunting grounds in the Big Sioux Valley of present-day South Dakota. An effort to pursue and punish them, led by the Minnesota Sioux agent, Charles E. Flandrau, proved futile, though later two surviving captives were rescued through the efforts of other Indians.

Closely following the facts of this frontier tragedy, MacKinlay Kantor has presented a drama that alternates between the lives of the handful of doomed pioneers and the outlaw band of Sioux. He admits that his use of personality traits in describing such Dickinson County, Iowa, settlers as Lydia Noble, Elizabeth Thatcher, the Marble family, and Abigail and Rowland Gardner is imaginary, since they "were people of obscure origins, their lives undocumented," but most of their names are factual, and their place in the narrative is authentic.

Flandrau and his Scotch buddy, Stewart Garvie, are accurately portrayed shooting wolves from an isolated cabin and selling the pelts for seventy-five cents apiece. There is old Doc Maws—who could be Jared W. Daniels or William W. Mayo, or a vigorous combination of both. Inkpaduta and his followers become real, shown against a backdrop of the demoralization and disintegration of Indian society under the relentless push of white settlement.

Mr. Kantor has conscientiously used the available scraps of historical information and built fiction onto the skeleton of established truth. An informed reader of Minnesota history can readily recognize and identify the geography, the people, and the event.

### PHOTOCOPIED MANUSCRIPTS

*Guide to Photocopied Historical Materials.*  
Edited by RICHARD W. HALE, JR. (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1961, xxxiv, 241 p. \$5.00.)

Reviewed by Thomas F. Deahl

THIS GUIDE to photographic reproductions of manuscripts lists those bodies of historical and archival material that have been reported to the compilers as being under institutional control at the assigned cutoff date of January 1, 1959. Private holdings are not listed, nor are individual pieces except when they

form distinct units. Government records are included as well as personal papers. Photocopies of transcripts are not reported unless the transcript in question seems to have particular value. The guide does not attempt to be all-inclusive.

In the introduction Mr. Hale makes a strong case for photographic copying of manuscripts. He notes that photocopies save wear and tear on the original material and, because of their regenerative nature, permit wider dissemination of faithful reproductions. The fact that they can be dispatched by mail saves the scholar much travel. Mr. Hale even tells how to go about making proper photocopies of manuscripts. This is all to the good, but the reason for compiling this particular guide is never quite stated.

One real service such a guide could have rendered would have been to arrange photocopy locations by geographic area, thus smoothing the way for regional historical research. Presumably the compilers had something like this in mind, since the contents are grouped by geographic area. But the whole purpose of facilitating regional research is defeated when the manuscripts are listed only under the states where the originals—and not the photocopies—are located. For example, the papers of Jay Cooke, who played a vital part in promotion of the Northern Pacific Railroad and the development of Duluth, are listed only under Pennsylvania, though the Minnesota Historical Society owns microfilm copies. Similarly, Herman H. Chapman is found under Connecticut; but it is his observations on forestry legislation and the methods used to preserve Minnesota forests which are of interest. Under the Connecticut entry it is dutifully noted that the Minnesota Historical Society holds photocopies—but to what avail? A scholar searching by region alone would receive no clue that these two men had anything to contribute to an understanding of Minnesota. Biographers and others seeking specific manuscripts can locate them in the index; states and regions are not listed.

Another major criticism of this volume is

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MR. DEAHL is curator of newspapers in the Minnesota Historical Society and supervises the institution's microfilming program.

that many entries are misleading as to how much manuscript material is available in photocopy form. The following entry provides an illustration:

Andrews, James A. 1845–1930  
Papers 1852–1920 priv.  
N: MnHi, 1 reel.

From this a reader would naturally infer that all of the Andrews papers from 1852 to 1920 are on the single reel of microfilm. When, however, we examine the corresponding entry in *Manuscripts Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, we find:

Andrews, James A. (1845–1930) and Family. Papers 1852–1920. 2 boxes, including 41 volumes, 2 additional volumes, and 1 reel of microfilm.

Clearly, all of the Andrews family papers are not on the single microfilm reel, but this could not be ascertained from the present guide. The same situation was found to apply to several other entries under Minnesota. Perhaps this is a problem which cannot be solved until a uniform standard for manuscript cataloguing is set forth, since the Minnesota manuscripts guide — which presumably served as the basis for Mr. Hale's work — did not indicate the contents of the microfilm either.

In short, the usefulness of this book seems limited, except in so far as it brings together in one volume titles of materials which are not listed elsewhere or are listed only in separate guides.

#### JEFFERSON CONTINUED

*The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 16, 30 November 1789 to 4 July 1790. Edited by JULIAN P. BOYD and ALFRED L. BUSH, with LUCIUS WILMERDING, JR., as consulting editor. (Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1961. xliii, 675 p. \$12.50.

Reviewed by Jesse H. Shera

THE PRECEDING volume of these papers concluded with Jefferson's return from France, as the American minister to the French court, and the present compilation opens with his tumultuous welcome back to Virginia, and particularly the warmth of the reception by

his Albemarle County neighbors. In his responses to this public recognition, one sees again his devotion to the new nation and a reaffirmation of his faith in a democratic form of government. The first half of the period covered by the present volume is largely confined to his sojourn in Virginia and such personal matters as the marriage of his daughter, Martha, to Thomas Mann Randolph, Jr.; arrangements concerning his furniture in France; the pressing problem of his personal debts; and his reluctant decision to accept Washington's offer of the post of secretary of state.

On March 1, 1790, he departed from Monticello for New York and the assumption of his new duties as a member of Washington's cabinet. Thus began what was eventually to become a long and bitter struggle over the principles of administration, both as they related to governmental theory and to the conduct of public business. In these pages is recorded his first known clash with Alexander Hamilton — a dispute over arrearages in the pay of soldiers from Virginia and North Carolina. This controversy demonstrated clearly the humanitarian boundaries that were to separate the respective philosophies of Jefferson and Hamilton and the extent to which the Hamiltonians misinterpreted, or misrepresented, Jefferson's political convictions.

Here, too, are documents relating to his support of the rights of the United States in the matter of the Yazoo grants, though he opposed coercive measures. Archivists will find of particular interest the materials relating to Jefferson's arrangement with John Fenno, whereby the *Gazette of the United States* was awarded permission to publish the federal statutes in exchange for improved coverage of foreign news, including the use of extracts from the *Leyden Gazette*. Thus Jefferson hoped to improve Americans' understanding of foreign affairs and to give his fellow countrymen a more balanced view of the revolutionary movement in France. The present volume concludes with an extensive section dealing with the report on a uniform system

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MR. SHERA is head of the school of library science in Western Reserve University at Cleveland. His review of volume 1 of these papers appeared in September, 1950.



of weights and measures in which Jefferson received substantial collaborative support from James Madison. Unfortunately, Jefferson's program failed to elicit support, and the editors of this volume are disposed to question his judgment in submitting an alternative, less drastic proposal and in providing an escape for opponents of the scheme through postponement of action.

Finally, one might mention that the volume contains the last letter written by Benjamin Franklin prior to his death on April 17, 1790. Other items of incidental interest are Jefferson's disposition of a portrait of Louis XVI

enclosed in a diamond-studded frame that had been presented to him by the King of France; plants he sent from Virginia to Madame de Tessé; and a seed of upland rice brought back by Lieutenant William Bligh of the ill-fated "Bounty."

This is the sixteenth volume of the *Jefferson Papers*, and one begins to wonder who will be reviewing the last volume for *Minnesota History*. Nevertheless, the work represents a monument to sound scholarship, and sound scholarship must of necessity be a patience-trying business, so there would appear to be no alternative but to wait.

## . . . on the *HISTORICAL HORIZON*

THE WILDERNESS area of Quetico-Superior on Minnesota's northern border receives mention in two recent books. A delightful chapter on this region is included in William O. Douglas' *My Wilderness: East to Katahdin* (Garden City, 290 p.). There Justice Douglas describes a canoe trip, made in the company of Sigurd F. Olson of Ely, down Basswood River, into Crooked Lake, and on into the Quetico. The author mentions Arrow Rock on Crooked Lake with its historic pictographs and many other scenic delights of the country of the voyageurs. Both men are also represented in a second book entitled *Wilderness: America's Living Heritage*, edited by David Brower and published by the Sierra Club of San Francisco (1961. xvi, 204 p. \$5.75.). The volume records talks and discussions on many aspects of the need for wilderness offered by participants in a conference sponsored by the club. Justice Douglas and Mr. Olson spoke at a session devoted to the topic "Wilderness and the Molding of American Character." Other speakers included Stewart Udall, Gerard Piel, Ansel Adams, and Joseph Wood Krutch.

THIRTEEN PHOTOGRAPHS of the National Farmers' Bank at Owatonna are included in a brief study of Louis Sullivan by Albert Bush-Brown (New York, 1960. 128 p.). The author describes the Owatonna bank as a "supreme achievement" with "a wonderful geometry both in its mass and, significantly, in its interior space also." It is, he says, the best among the series of small Midwestern banks which were almost the only architectural product of Sullivan's last twenty-four years.

SEVENTEEN PAGES are devoted to Minnesota publications in a bibliography of *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals, 1732-1955*, by Karl J. Arndt and May E. Olson (Heidelberg, Germany, 1961. 794 p.). A brief summary of German cultural and religious organizations in Minnesota is presented in the introductory note to the section. The listings include, in addition to place and date of publication, the location of existing files. Here the Minnesota Historical Society's newspaper collection is well represented.

IRISH immigration is discussed in a book by Bob Considine entitled *It's the Irish* (Garden City, 1961. 274 p.). In this highly personal and partisan account, Mr. Considine claims that the Irish were the first immigrant Americans to be called "foreigners," and that they were the first to suffer segregation and discrimination. Among the topics to which he devotes chapters are the "Urban Irish," the "Laboring Irish," the "Politicking Irish," the "Worshipping Irish," and the "Fighting Irish." He gives brief biographical information on St. Paul's Archbishop John Ireland, whom he calls one of the "most notable members" of the liberal wing of the Catholic clergy in America and one of the "most universally revered of all American Irish prelates."

AN ESSAY on "The Lewis-Clark Expedition Papers: The Genesis of a Case," by Redmond A. Burke and Robert Q. Kelly, which first appeared in the *De Paul Law Review* in 1958, has been reprinted in a collection entitled *Landmarks of Law: Highlights of Legal Opinion*,

edited by Ray D. Henson (New York, 1960. 461 p.). In it the authors review the factual story behind the case of the Clark papers from President Jefferson's instructions to Lewis, to the final ruling of the United States Court of Appeals in 1958. They conclude that "our nation is indebted to the jurists, attorneys, and disputants in this controversy, for illuminating a very important chapter in the history of our country." The same collection contains an essay on "Facts, Evidence, and Legal Proof," by Lee Loevinger of Minneapolis, who was appointed by President Kennedy in 1961 to head the antitrust division of the United States department of justice.

### THE MINNESOTA SCENE

"THE HISTORY of Medicine in Sherburne County Prior to 1901" is related by Josie W. Pfeiffer and Dr. Robert Rosenthal in *Minnesota Medicine* for June, 1961. Pioneer physicians of the county are listed and biographical information is given for many of them. According to the authors, "The medical history of the county began in 1873," when Doctor Nathaniel K. Whittemore, one year out of medical school, rode into the village of Elk River on a borrowed horse. Over the following twenty-seven years "it has been found that there were less than twenty different men who practiced medicine in the county." Pioneer dentists and druggists are also listed briefly. The authors have drawn their information largely from medical directories and local newspapers.

SAILING in competition on Minnesota lakes from 1889 through 1960 is the main topic of a booklet entitled *A History of the White Bear Yacht Club*, compiled by Carl B. Drake and others (St. Paul, 1961. 158 p.). Officers of this sailing group are listed for each year throughout its history, as are class entries and owners participating in the annual Inland Lakes regattas. Listed also are team winners of interlake regattas and class champions. A brief history of the club's tennis and golf activities is included. The publication is illustrated with numerous photographs of club members, sailing craft, and some of the clubhouses that have been in use over the years.

A PAMPHLET first printed in 1926, describing the personal experiences of Benedict Juni, who spent nearly nine weeks among the Sioux during the uprising of 1862, has been reissued under the title *Held in Captivity* (New Ulm, 1961. 23 p. \$1.00.). Juni, who was ten years

old at the time of his captivity, states that he was treated for the most part with kindness and consideration, and recalls his reluctance to part with his adopted family when he was delivered to the soldiers at Camp Release. Copies are available through the Brown County Historical Society at New Ulm.

A USEFUL survey of Swedish settlement in Isanti County may be found in two recently issued mimeographed pamphlets: *Dalarna in America* by Dr. Alfred Bergin (Cambridge, 10 p.) and *A History of the Swedish Lutheran Congregation* by Eric Norelius which has been translated by E. Hedenstrom (Cambridge, 9 p.). As the titles imply, the booklets contain information on early settlers, who came largely from the Swedish province of Dalarna, and on the Swedish Lutheran congregations they founded.

THE JUNIOR HISTORIAN program established in November, 1960, by the Polk County Historical Society has been received with enthusiasm by history students in the county, according to report appearing in the *Crookston Daily Times* for March 2. The article describes activities and projects carried out by chapters of the Junior Historical Society in various schools. As a part of this program, the county society annually presents an award to the outstanding eleventh-grade history student in each of the county's high schools. Other facets of the society's work include the Holte Memorial Pioneer Museum, opened in April, 1961, a library, a lecture series, and a newsletter for members. This "remarkably comprehensive and unusually imaginative program" last year received an award of merit from the American Association for State and Local History.

FOR HIS ARTICLE on "The Prairie Island Community: A Remnant of Minnesota Sioux," published in the September, 1961, issue of *Minnesota History*, Professor Roy W. Meyer of the department of English in Mankato State College received the society's Solon J. Buck Award for 1961. The award, which carries with it a prize of a hundred dollars, is given each year to the author of the best article appearing in the society's quarterly. The winner for 1961 was selected by a committee consisting of Professor Philip D. Jordan of the University of Minnesota, Mrs. Mary W. Berthel, former associate editor on the society's staff, and Mrs. Rhoda R. Gilman, editor of the quarterly. Professor Jordan, who was chairman of the committee, announced the award at the society's annual meeting in St. Paul on May 26.



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